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# A Short Introduction to Franciscan Literature

BY

FATHER PASCHAL ROBINSON

of the Order of Friars Minor





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# A short introduction to Franciscan Literature

No one at all conversant with the trend of recent historical and literary study need be told that we have entered upon an era of scholarly interest in all that concerns the life and work of St. Francis of Assisi. Witness the loving, anxious care with which seasoned scholars irrespective of creed or nationality are seeking out, gathering apart and treasuring up the least detail which bears upon the Sources, as they are called, of early Franciscan history, while the great world of letters looks on approvingly. Perhaps it is speaking too broadly to say that these Sources now form a special department of study. It is, however, undeniable that in a comparatively few years this study has advanced so rapidly, and assumed such remarkable proportions, that it is no mere fad of the passing hour, but rather a movement destined to leave a more or less lasting impress upon the literature, if not also upon the life of our time. Be this as it may, Franciscan literature—whether regarded in the broader and more popular though somewhat inexact sense recent usage has given to this term, or in its more restricted if higher academic meaning—has become, so to say, the order of the day, and if the reading public is not wholly “Franciscanized” at least in theory, it is surely no fault of present day publishers. For the books written within a very recent period about St. Francis and the beginnings of his Order, not to mention pamphlets and magazine articles, are almost as numerous as the

proverbial leaves of Vallombrosa. These works consist for the most part of reprints and translations of the early manuscript authorities and of original studies dealing with the same. If we except a few worthless productions of pretended criticism by superficial amateurs which have not contributed to the making of the present movement of Franciscan study but have been manufactured for it, the works in question are usually edited with scholarly care and, on the whole, possess a value and an interest of their own, even for those unfamiliar with the intricacies and technicalities of early Franciscan documents.

Pending the completion of a larger work intended for formal students of Franciscan history, I have here ventured to jot down a few notes for the benefit of the general reader to whom the subject may be new, and who may wish for some sort of guide to the vast field of literature which has grown up around the name of the *Poverello*. Such is the aim of the present modest booklet. It attempts to provide a brief outline of the Sources of Franciscan history which so often perplex those unfamiliar with this delightful but difficult study, as well as a list of the principal works relating to St. Francis written since the thirteenth century.\* Some of these latter have been dealt with rather briefly, while considerable space has been devoted to the enormous English literary output of recent years, for I believe that the general reader whose time is limited is not likely to acquire a taste for Franciscan literature by having his or her attention directed chiefly to older works in another tongue, often technical and not always accessible.<sup>1</sup>

Now every department of study has its special difficulties, and early Franciscan history is not without them. In the first place it is not easy for us in the first decade of the twentieth century to enter fully and fairly into the life and thought of the thirteenth. And yet, as Prof. Little remarks,<sup>2</sup> this is the first essential for those who wish to approach with understanding the study of St.

\* A complete list of the various works referred to in the course of these pages will be found at the end.

Francis. The life of the Poor Man of Assisi cannot be separated from the age and country in which he lived. His is indeed one of those lives in which we have learned to trace the personification of the spiritual history of the time. It is not enough to know that St. Francis "saved European society when it was on the brink of collapse,"<sup>3</sup> or that he "renewed the youth of the Church";<sup>4</sup> we must seek further to know the causes which were de-Christianizing mediæval society and making religion itself a mere ceremonial. There is no gainsaying the fact that those who read about St. Francis without some knowledge of the day in which his life was set are certain to misunderstand much of what they read. On the other hand, the more we know about the feudal system and the abuses to which it had given rise; of the struggle between the Papacy and the German Empire; of the peculiar effects of the Crusades upon the minds of men; of the vain attempts to restore Gospel simplicity made by heretical sects like the Poor Men of Lyons and their nameless followers; of the multiplication of towns which resulted in drawing the people beyond the reach of cloistered monks and huddling them together in filthy hovels; of the communal feuds, nowhere more common than in Umbria; of the pageantry and luxury which flourished side by side with poverty and leprosy; of the leaven of the Tournaments and the Troubadours—in a word, the more we know about the kind of world by which St. Francis found himself surrounded and which gave color to his life, the better will we be able to understand the ideals of the *Poverello* and to measure his influence and attainments.

It is obvious, therefore, that a study of the condition of the Church and State in Italy about the year 1209 would form the best introduction to the life of St. Francis. In other words, the student of Franciscan Sources should begin with at least some special knowledge of what may be called the historical conditions of the period in which St. Francis was one of the chief figures. There is, however, no short cut to such knowledge; it must be picked up, so to say, as one goes along.

## A SHORT INTRODUCTION

Now the last two decades of the twelfth century and the first quarter of the thirteenth form, to say the least, a mightily complicated piece of work. And so far as I know, there is no good book devoted to this period of transition and unrest.<sup>6</sup> For the rest, it is only very gradually that we are obtaining a real knowledge of the Middle Ages. To be sure most modern scholars have abandoned belief in the general "darkness" of these Ages,<sup>7</sup> but not all know how to discount the pious horror and indignation of mediæval scribes. It may not be amiss, therefore, to note by the way for the benefit of the tyro that as a rule the more pious a chronicler the blacker his colors.

Premising this we may pass on to the subject more immediately engaging our attention:

## THE SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF ST. FRANCIS<sup>7</sup>

Happily for those whom the subject interests there are few mediæval lives more thoroughly documented<sup>8</sup> than that of St. Francis. We have in the first place the Writings of the Saint himself; there is also a certain number of diplomatic documents, donations, Papal Bulls and the like. Then come the biographies of the Saint written by his contemporaries and the early Chronicles of the Order which are in some sort a continuation of them. Such in briefest outline are the Sources, properly so called, of the history of St. Francis. I would suggest that those who wish to acquire some little knowledge of them (to master the subject would require a lifetime) should begin with

## THE WORKS OF ST. FRANCIS

Unfortunately not a few of these Writings have been lost and those that have come down to us contain very few facts about the life of St. Francis, but they reflect his personality most

faithfully. Hence their importance. Perhaps the last word has not yet been said as to the authenticity of all the *Opuscula* attributed to the Saint, but thanks to the critical editions recently published by the Quaracchi editors,<sup>9</sup> Prof. Boehmer and others,<sup>10</sup> and the learned criticisms which these editions have called forth,<sup>11</sup> we are now able to form a fairly accurate estimate of what St. Francis really wrote. Roughly speaking his Writings fall naturally under three heads: the Rules<sup>12</sup> represent St. Francis as legislator; his letters show us St. Francis as a spiritual father; in the Praises and Canticle of the Sun we see St. Francis the man of prayer. Not the least welcome result of the present widespread interest in St. Francis has been the re-editing and re-translation of his Writings. There is a new English version<sup>13</sup> which affords those unacquainted with the language in which St. Francis wrote as good an idea of the Saint as his own words furnish. But here as elsewhere they who read in a translation only miss much. The autographs of St. Francis which have come down to us form the subject of a little volume recently issued by Mr. Balfour.<sup>14</sup>

The so-called Diplomatic Documents bearing upon St. Francis's life and which include the deed donating the mountain of La Verna,<sup>15</sup> the registers of Cardinal Ugolino, afterwards Gregory IX,<sup>16</sup> the Bull of Canonization<sup>17</sup> and the Liturgical Office<sup>18</sup> all have less interest for the general reader. In passing on to

#### THE EARLY BIOGRAPHIES OF ST. FRANCIS

it is necessary for us to take account of the grave dissensions as to the observance of the Rule which ravaged the Order during the first century of its existence, resulting in a division of the Friars into two parties—the so-called Spiritual Friars or Zelanti who clung to the letter of the Rule, and those of the Large Observance who favored a mitigated interpretation of it. In the history of these dissensions we may distinguish three periods. During the first, which began soon after the death of St. Francis, the contest

## A SHORT INTRODUCTION

was mainly a question of discipline, the chief evidences of it being the Bull *Quo Elongati*<sup>19</sup> and the demolition by Brother Leo of the marble vase set up by Elias to receive offerings towards the construction of the Basilica at Assisi.<sup>20</sup> The second period was an epoch of transition. Under Bl. John of Parma, Joachimism made its appearance within the Order and became an additional element of conflict. It found its chief expression in an Introduction to the so-called "Eternal Gospel" of the Abbot Joachim of Floris [+1202] by Gerard of San Donnino which was publicly burned in 1255, its author being sentenced to life imprisonment.<sup>21</sup> During the third period the practical contest as to the observance of the Rule maintained by Peter of John Olivi [+1297], Ubertino da Casale [+1338] and Angelo Clareno [+1337] took on a new phase, being merged under John XXII [about 1321] into a more theoretical dispute as to the absolute poverty of Christ and the Apostles.<sup>22</sup> It is obvious that these deplorable dissensions must have exercised a more or less prejudicial effect upon the first biographers of St. Francis. The fact that fierce party spirit was in the very air at the time they wrote had no small influence in determining the trend of the early Lives of St. Francis—Legends as they were called in the Middle Ages.

### LEGENDS OR LIVES BY CELANO

First in date and importance among the biographies is the *Vita Prima* or First Life by Thomas of Celano, a companion of the Saint.<sup>23</sup> It was written by order of Gregory IX prior to February, 1229, and forms, so to say, the cornerstone of Franciscan biography. It would be foolish to contend that Celano was altogether uninfluenced by the condition of affairs around him when he wrote this work, but only prejudice can find in it a "manifesto" in behalf of Elias. Apart from its historic value the First Life is written with considerable eloquence. It contains a graphic description of the personal ap-

pearance of St. Francis and some of the best known stories. Besides this *Vita Prima*<sup>24</sup> of which many abridgments were made—notably by John of Ceperano,<sup>25</sup> Julian of Speyer,<sup>26</sup> Vincent of Beauvais,<sup>27</sup> the author of the metrical life,<sup>28</sup> Bartholomew of Trent<sup>29</sup> and by Celano himself<sup>30</sup>—we are indebted to Celano for a *Vita Secunda*, or Second Life, compiled 1244-7 as a supplement to the First Life.<sup>31</sup> This work, which was long unknown because of the internal divisions within the Order, deals more particularly with the virtues of St. Francis. It was followed about 1257 by the *Tractatus de Miraculis*,<sup>32</sup> a treatise dealing with his miracles of which a copy was not brought to light until 1898; and by two *Sequences* in honor of St. Francis.<sup>33</sup> The critical edition of these works recently published by Fr. Edouard d'Alencon was much needed.<sup>34</sup> The *Vita Prima* and *Vita Secunda* had, indeed, been printed separately but in an unsatisfactory manner and were difficult to procure; the *Tractatus* was inaccessible save in the *Analecta Bollandiana*;<sup>35</sup> so that if Fr. Edouard had done nothing more than gather Celano's works on St. Francis under one cover he would have rendered a signal service to Franciscan study. But the value of the original writings is greatly enhanced by the scholarly introduction and notes—the result of long research among the early MSS. authorities—in which the eminent Archivist General of the Capuchins discusses the life of Thomas of Celano and explains the circumstances in which his works were written. Indeed no one who wishes to approach with understanding the study of St. Francis's life can afford to be without Fr. Edouard's edition of Celano's *Lives*. We now come in the second place to

### ST. BONAVENTURE'S LEGEND

A new biography of St. Francis appeared about 1263. It was written by St. Bonaventure, then Minister General, and is composed of two parts of very unequal value. In the first he publishes the inedited facts that he had been able to gather

at Assisi and elsewhere; in the other he merely abridges and repeats what others and especially Celano had already recorded. This *Legenda Major*<sup>26</sup> became known as the "New Legend" in contradistinction to the "Ancient Legend," under which generic title fourteenth-century writers are wont to describe all the legends of St. Francis written previous to that by the Seraphic Doctor. According to the old saying:

A perfect judge will read each work of wit  
With the same spirit that its author writ,

and unless we read the Legend of St. Bonaventure in the spirit in which it was undertaken we shall miss altogether that aspect of his work which is the explanation of all the rest. It is essentially a *legenda pacis*, compiled mainly with a view to pacifying the unhappy discord still ravaging the Order. St. Bonaventure's aim was to present a general portrait of the holy founder which, by the omission of certain points that had given rise to controversy, should be acceptable to all parties. This aim was surely legitimate even though history may have suffered thereby. What enhances the interest of St. Bonaventure's Life is the fact that Giotto used it as the basis of his frescoes in the Upper Church at Assisi, and that Dante, charmed by it, drew the picture of the Saint in the "Paradiso."

To ensure the acceptance of this "New Legend," the General Chapter at Paris in 1266 proscribed all the earlier biographies and decreed that they should no longer be read and should, to the utmost of the power of the Friars, be destroyed.<sup>27</sup> Although some critics<sup>28</sup> consider this rather draconic edict to have been a purely liturgical ordination, others<sup>29</sup> with greater probability as it seems to me—though I speak as one less wise—regard it as aimed at the destruction of the so-called "Ancient Legend," part of which had become in the hands of the Spirituals a very trumpet. Whichever be the true account, it is fortunate for the cause of Franciscan literature that, in spite of this decree, the early Lives have one by one come to light, although it took just six hundred and

thirty-two years to recover all the scattered fragments of Celano's Legends of St. Francis.

So much for Celano and St. Bonaventure. To be sure, as Fra Salimbene long ago reminded us, they are far from having told us all—for that matter no single Legend gives a complete picture of St. Francis since all are more or less fragmentary. Perhaps what they have told may at times be open to criticism, yet their Legends remain the chief early sources of our information on the life of St. Francis. They are the authorities which have supplied the Saint's many subsequent biographers with most of their data. The Legend of St. Bonaventure was long ago done into English; <sup>40</sup> a translation of Celano's Lives will soon appear.

A third work which has played a prominent part in many biographies of St. Francis is the so-called

### LEGEND OF THE THREE COMPANIONS

In regard to this work it should be noted that at the Chapter at Genoa in 1244, the General Crescentius had called upon any of the Friars who might have special knowledge of St. Francis to furnish facts for a new biography. In answer to this appeal Brothers Leo, Angelo, and Rufino, three of St. Francis's most intimate disciples, sent to the General, August 11, 1246, a collection of notes together with a dedicatory letter. This letter has come down to us. It is followed in all the MSS. by a biography called the *Legenda Trium Sociorum*. The authenticity of this traditional legend has, of late years, been questioned on such good grounds that very few scholars any longer believe it to be the Legend of the Three Companions in its entirety; whether or not, however, it represents a fragment of their handiwork or something else, is less easy to determine. Without wishing to intrude an opinion on so difficult and delicate a subject, I venture to think that the Companions did not write anything *per modum legendæ* and that we must look for their contribution to Franciscan history to the Second Life by Celano in so far as the documents they sent to

Crescentius were used by Celano in the compilation of this Second Life, which, for the rest, altogether squares with their dedicatory letter. But this is not the place to discuss the authorship of the *Legenda III Sociorum* concerning which a whole controversial literature has grown up.<sup>41</sup> The same is true of

### THE MIRROR OF PERFECTION

or *Speculum Perfectionis*, a strikingly original work which was introduced into Franciscan studies in 1898 by Paul Sabatier as the *Legenda Antiquissima S. Francisci* written by Brother Leo as early as 1227.<sup>42</sup> Although this claim has been hotly disputed, the French critic still seems convinced of the Leonine origin of the *Speculum*. The majority of critics, however, incline to a later date than that of the twelve-twenties and ascribe it to various writers. The several hypotheses now advanced concerning the *Speculum* may be reduced to two: (1) it is a work of 1227 with retouches of a later date; (2) it is a compilation of 1318 in which materials of an earlier period were used.<sup>43</sup> But the *Speculum* is still in process of evaluation; some thirty-two of its chapters seem authentic. Perhaps in the end the whole question may resolve itself largely into one of name, and it may turn out that both the *Speculum Perfectionis* (whether its date be fixed at 1318 or earlier) and the *Legend* which has come down to us under the name of the Three Companions (whether in the shorter form first published by the Bollandists<sup>44</sup> or in the larger one edited by Fathers Marcellino da Civezza and Teofilo Domenichelli<sup>45</sup>), as well as the greater part of the *Actus B. Francisci* or *Fioretti*,<sup>46</sup> besides such other fourteenth-century compilations as the so-called *Legenda Antiqua*,<sup>47</sup> are nothing else than so many different rivulets more or less turbulent and tainted springing in the first instance from one and the same source now irreparably lost in its original form, to wit: the *rotuli* of Brother Leo and the notes of the Companions presented to the Minister General Crescentius in 1246 in reply to his appeal for

further light on the life of St. Francis.<sup>48</sup> Be this as it may, we owe to this appeal of Crescentius, if not to the General himself, the *Dialogue* drawn up about 1245 and first published in 1902 by Fr. Leonard Lemmens.<sup>49</sup> But to return to the *Speculum* and the *Legenda III Sociorum*, it is difficult in the present state of our knowledge to assign either one a fixed place among the Sources properly so called. Both works are of the utmost value and interest withal, and because they breathe such a sweet perfume of Franciscan simplicity and let in a flood of light on the personality of the *Poverello* they ought to be read by all who desire a closer acquaintance with St. Francis. There are at least three English translations of the *Speculum*<sup>50</sup> and one of the *Legenda III Sociorum*.<sup>51</sup>

Several other works dealing with the life of St. Francis and continuing with the early history of the Order were compiled in the second half of the thirteenth century. These include the *Legenda Anonyma*,<sup>52</sup> the *Liber de Laudibus* of Bernard of Besse,<sup>53</sup> and the long chapter devoted to St. Francis in Voragine's *Golden Legend*.<sup>54</sup>

## EARLY CHRONICLES

Among the early Chronicles of the Order those written by Thomas of Eccleston and Jordan of Giano contain extraordinarily vivid memories of the establishment of the Franciscans in England and Germany respectively. Incidentally both these works furnish much valuable information on the general trend of early Franciscan events and thought. Jordan's Chronicle written about 1262 has been twice edited in fragmentary form.<sup>55</sup> A complete copy of the Latin text with notes by Prof. Boehmer is announced for early publication in the *Collection d'Etudes*. In the same series Prof. Little promises a new edition of Eccleston's *De Adventu FF. Minorum in Angliam*, based on the "missing manuscript" in the Phillipps collection.<sup>56</sup> This work, written about 1260, has already been published both in the *Rolls Series* and in the *Analecta Franciscana*.<sup>57</sup> There is an excellent vernacular version by Fr. Cuthbert

O.S.F.C.<sup>58</sup> which will appeal to all those interested in the "Coming of the Friars."<sup>59</sup>

On the other hand the Chronicle of Fra Salimbene of Parma, written 1282-87, has only a remote interest for the student of Franciscan Sources properly so called. For its own sake, however, this remarkable work deserves to rank among the most intimate human documents of the thirteenth century, its author being, in some sort, a thirteenth-century Pepys. The very imperfect edition of Salimbene published at Parma in 1857<sup>60</sup> has recently been supplemented by Prof. Holder-Egger's critical edition of the complete Latin text.<sup>61</sup> Under the title "From St. Francis to Dante," G. G. Coulton has lately edited a translation of all that seems "of primary interest" in this Chronicle.<sup>62</sup> Unfortunately "Mr. Coulton is a doctrinaire, and it seems that he translates Salimbene merely to transform the simple friar into a witness to his charges against the century of the wonderful Emperor Frederick, Pope Gregory IX, and the Abbot Joachim. . . . But it would be better to detach Salimbene, a man who gives a true account of himself, from all such theorizing, if we want to enjoy his picture of life. T. L. K. Oliphant's translation of certain passages, with none but needful explanatory notes, which he published in his volume of essays, 'The Duke and the Scholar,' away back in 1875, must remain for the present the most useful English version of the friar's journal for the historical student."<sup>63</sup>

In addition to the various thirteenth-century Legends and Chronicles written within the Order, several valuable references to the life and work of St. Francis may be found in other contemporary records. Among these non-Franciscan Sources the letters of the French prelate Jacques de Vitry and chapter xxxii of his curious *Historia Occidentalis*<sup>64</sup> the continuator of William of Tyre<sup>65</sup> and the Chronicle of Burchard and Conrad of Ursperg<sup>66</sup> are most often cited.

Apart from such historical documents as we have been considering special mention must be made of

## THE SACRUM COMMERCIVM,

an exquisite allegory in which St. Francis's own tale about the Lady Poverty<sup>67</sup> has been most poetically expanded by one of his immediate followers. It tells how St. Francis sought the Lady Poverty alone on a remote mountain, held converse with her and won her by his surpassing devotion to come and live with his brethren as queen of their religious virtues. If Fr. Edouard d'Alençon, to whom we are indebted for the critical Latin text<sup>68</sup> of the *Sacrum Commercium*, is right in assigning the authorship to Bl. Giovanni Parenti, first Minister General after St. Francis [+1230], and in fixing its completion in July, 1227, then the *Sacrum Commercium* is the first book ever written relating to St. Francis.<sup>69</sup> Others, however, including Don Minocchi, editor of the latest Italian version,<sup>70</sup> ascribe the *Sacrum Commercium* to Bl. John of Parma [+1298].<sup>71</sup> The fact that its authorship is uncertain<sup>72</sup> in no wise affects the intrinsic beauty of this fairest of mediæval idylls which inspired the pen of Dante and the brush of Giotto and which has been done into English in a way worthy of the original by Mr. Montgomery Carmichael.<sup>73</sup>

Although the Sources, properly so called, close with the thirteenth century, it would be very shortsighted, to say the least, to neglect the productions of subsequent writers, some of which are of great value.

## FOURTEENTH CENTURY

This century produced the *Actus B. Francisci et Sociorum Ejus*. This work, which is attributed to Fra. Ugolino di Monte Giorgio, dates from 1322-28 and comprises with some additional matter the original Latin text out of which some unknown fourteenth-century friar translated the ever-fragrant *Fioretti* or "Little Flowers of St. Francis"—one of the most delicious productions of the Middle Ages. No one can form an adequate idea of the lively faith, the childlike simplicity and the tender piety that characterized the lives

of St. Francis and his earliest disciples who has not read the *Fioretti* which, for the rest, contains more history as distinct from mere poetry than it has always been customary to recognize. M. Sabatier has published the Latin text of both the *Actus* and the *Fioretti*.<sup>74</sup> The latter ought if at all possible to be read in Italian,<sup>75</sup> but there are several excellent translations.<sup>76</sup>

The early fourteenth century also furnishes us with the *Arbor Vitæ Crucifixi* and the *Chronica Tribulationum*. These works reflect the point of view of the Spiritual Friars<sup>77</sup> who claim to have had access, among other documents, to the writings of Brother Leo. The *Arbor Vitæ* composed on La Verna in 1305 by Ubertino da Casale<sup>78</sup> insists upon the poverty of Christ and St. Francis by way of rebuke to those who desired to relax the Rule, and contains an eloquent though fanciful commentary on the Gospels.<sup>79</sup> The *Chronicle of the Seven Tribulations* written some twenty years later and in greatest part the work of Angelo Clareno, records the persecutions suffered by the Zelanti beginning with the innovations made during St. Francis's sojourn in the East [1219] and continuing up to the pontificate of John XXII. The Joachimite influence is manifest throughout the work which spite of its tone of heroic endurance is tinged with bias and bitterness.<sup>80</sup> It has been published in part by both Ehrle and Dollinger.<sup>81</sup> Prof. Tocco is preparing a new edition based on the Laurenziana MS.

Pre-eminent among the later compilations of the fourteenth century is the well-known *Chronica XXIV Generalium* which is ascribed to Fra Arnold of Sarano, Provincial of Aquitaine. Although not completed until 1379, this most entertaining collection of Franciscan lore contains many early documents such as the life of Brother Giles,<sup>82</sup> and much important information derived from lesser works such as the *Catalogus Sanctorum Fratrum Minorum*,<sup>83</sup> some of which are now lost like that of Peregrinus of Bologna.<sup>84</sup> The Friars Minor of Quaracchi published a critical edition of this *Chronicle* in 1897.<sup>85</sup>

The close of the fourteenth century witnessed

the appearance of the *De Conformatitate* by Bartholomew Rinonico of Pisa, which was approved by the General Chapter of 1399.<sup>66</sup> This remarkable book, condemned with most unmerited ostracism by superficial students who have not had the patience to master it, has been lauded by M. Sabatier in terms that seem to savor of exaggeration. Between these two extreme views the sorely needed critical edition of the text recently published at Quaracchi<sup>67</sup> enables us to discover the veritable mine of *materia seraphica* that lies half hidden as it were among the sometimes overdrawn parallels between the lives of Christ and St. Francis which form the thesis of the *Conformities*.

With Fra Bartholi's *Treatise on the Portiuncula*, published by Sabatier in 1900,<sup>68</sup> and the well-known *Provinciale Ordinis Minorum*, edited at Quaracchi in 1892,<sup>69</sup> our selection of fourteenth-century works closes.

## FIFTEENTH CENTURY

The fifteenth century added little to those which had preceded it, so far at least as concerns the class of works more immediately engaging our attention. But it saw the first printed editions of several works which, for their own sake, have a special value and interest. Such are the *Dicta* or *Sayings of Blessed Giles*<sup>70</sup> [1463] which so faithfully reflect the primitive Franciscan teaching, and the *Laudes* of Jacopone da Todi<sup>71</sup> [1490] which bear witness to the remarkable influence of St. Francis on early Italian literature.

## SIXTEENTH CENTURY

To the sixteenth century belong the *Speculum Vitae* and the more polemic *Speculum Minorum*,<sup>72</sup> printed respectively in 1504 and 1509, the *Chronicle of Glassberger*, written about 1508 and edited in the *Analecta Franciscana*,<sup>73</sup> the still unprinted *Chronicles of Marianus of Florence*, composed before 1527,<sup>74</sup> and the *Chronicle of Mark of Lisbon*, published at Lisbon, 1556-68,<sup>75</sup>

besides the historical works of Rodolfo of Tossignano [1586] and of the Ven. Francis Gonzaga [1587] on the origin and growth of the Seraphic Order.<sup>96</sup> All these writers borrowed freely from the early legends, making additions or omissions at pleasure; the fact that they sometimes had access to original documents which have not come down to us gives to their work a value it would not otherwise possess. This is especially true of the *Chronicles* of Glassberger and Mark of Lisbon.

## SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

In the seventeenth century Luke Wadding<sup>97</sup> produced eight volumes [1625-1654] of his *Annales Minorum*, which aim at giving a complete history of the Friars Minor from the beginning.<sup>98</sup> It is a matter for regret that this monumental work of the great Irish annalist should be marred by serious chronological errors, and that instead of following the early MSS. he had at hand, Wadding was content to transcribe the incomplete and often altered parts of them he found in second-hand compilations. It would be unfair, however, to make a scapegoat of Wadding, for it must be remembered that he wrote at a time when even the highest minds troubled themselves little enough about literary exactness. His mighty tomes, spite of certain shortcomings from our scientific standpoint, are of incontestable value and are perhaps more often consulted for reference to early Franciscan history than any other single work. The honor of first publishing [1623] a collection of the *Writings of St. Francis* also belongs to Wadding<sup>99</sup> and we are still further his debtor for the *Scrip-tores Ordinis Minorum*<sup>100</sup> [1650]. Several other seventeenth-century friars, including Henry Sedulius,<sup>101</sup> Dominic De Gubernatis,<sup>102</sup> Augustine of Stronconio,<sup>103</sup> Arthur de Moustier and Fortunatus Hueber<sup>104</sup> helped to swell the catalogue of Franciscan works by their more or less valuable contributions to the history of the Order.

## EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

During the eighteenth century great advance was made in the rehabilitation of the early Sources. In 1768 the Bollandists published for the first time the *Vita Prima* by Celano and the traditional *Legenda III Sociorum*, together with the *Legend* by St. Bonaventure and a brilliant commentary by Fr. Constant Suyskens.<sup>105</sup> About the same time [1759-68] the Conventual Sbaralea published a collection of Papal Bulls concerning the Franciscans,<sup>106</sup> not a few of which the Bollandists had overlooked. The biographies of Bro. Elias and Bl. John of Parma by Fr. Irenaeus Affo, issued respectively in 1777 and 1783, need some revision in the light of our present ampler knowledge of both lives.<sup>107</sup> Little need be said regarding the *Life of St. Francis* by Fr. Candid Chalippe<sup>108</sup> [1725]. This work has no doubt done good service in its way and day, but it must not be read with a critical eye.

## NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

In 1806 Sbaralea's posthumous supplement to Wadding's *Scriptores* appeared<sup>109</sup> and the Conventual, Fr. Rinaldi, who published it also edited the *Vita Secunda* by Celano which had escaped the Bollandists.<sup>110</sup> The critical method inaugurated by the latter was followed up by Niccolà Papini, ex-General of the Conventuals, in his history of St. Francis [1825] and lesser works which, though too often dominated by party spirit, have exercised a very considerable influence.<sup>111</sup> Among the biographies produced towards the middle of the century those by Chavin de Malan [1841] and Frederic Morin [1858] are written from the Catholic standpoint,<sup>112</sup> while those by Edward Vogt [1840] and Karl Hase [1856] represent a Rationalist point of view.<sup>113</sup> To the same period belong Francesco Prudenzano's study of St. Francis and his time [1852] which has seen so many editions,<sup>114</sup> and Frederic Ozanam's still more popular work on the early Franciscan poets [1852] which has not yet been superseded.<sup>115</sup>

A distinct advance, not only on Palomes's ultra-Conventual history<sup>116</sup> [1873], but upon all the preceding works, was made in the compendious history of St. Francis and the Franciscans by Fr. Panfilo da Magliano<sup>117</sup> [1874-6]. It is a matter of regret that Fr. Panfilo did not live to complete this excellent work which, so far as it goes, is thoroughly reliable. The *Synoptic Table of Franciscan History* by Fr. Léon Patrem [1879]—whose premature death deprived the Order of another scholar of mark—no less than his subsequent chronological studies in St. Francis's life<sup>118</sup> deserve to be better known. Antonio Cristofani's history of Assisi<sup>119</sup> [1875], is also worthy of special mention. The cheap reprint by Mgr. Leopold Amoni in 1880 of Celano, St. Bonaventure and the traditional *Legend of the Three Companions*<sup>120</sup> served at least the purpose of bringing this trilogy of works within easier reach. The *Auréole Sérapique* of Fr. Léon de Clary appeared in 1882.<sup>121</sup>

The centenary celebrations of the latter year, appear to have quickened the interest of scholars in the life and work of St. Francis, as witness the studies of men like Renan,<sup>122</sup> Tocco,<sup>123</sup> Bonghi,<sup>124</sup> Thode,<sup>125</sup> and Gebhart,<sup>126</sup> which appeared soon afterwards. Certain it is that the study of Franciscan history thenceforth steadily increased in widening circles. In particular Prof. Müller's *Anfänge*<sup>127</sup> [1885] may be said to have paved the way for the research work among the Sources which has since assumed such immense proportions. The year 1885 also saw the establishment of the *Archiv für Litteratur-und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*,<sup>128</sup> edited by Fathers Denifle, O.P., and Ehrle, S.J., and of the *Analecta Franciscana*<sup>129</sup> issued by the Friars Minor of St. Bonaventure's college, Quaracchi, two publications which have afforded immense aid to students. In the following year Mgr. Faloci Pulignani began the issue, at Foligno, of the *Miscellanea Franciscana*,<sup>130</sup> a quarterly periodical which still holds its own aggressively and is a real storehouse of information, although it may be said to represent the extreme conservative, one might almost say Conventional, view of things Franciscan.

But the greatest impulse to the modern study of Franciscan history was undoubtedly given by the publication in 1894 of Paul Sabatier's *Vie de Saint François*<sup>131</sup> which was almost simultaneously crowned by the French Academy and placed upon the Index.<sup>132</sup> I have elsewhere dealt at some length with the objectionable features of this remarkable book<sup>133</sup> and do not intend to recur to them here, the more so since I have reason to believe that the revised edition of it will be very different from the original. Meanwhile the latter, now in its fortieth edition, continues to propagate the errors long ago—as in the case of the *Porziuncula*—recognized by its author. But let that pass. However much the purely biographical portion of M. Sabatier's book may be crippled by his entire lack of sympathy with St. Francis's religious standpoint, that part of the work which deals with early Franciscan history and which is at once the most interesting and valuable, has served to open up a new era in the study of the Sources and, if we are now in the maelstrom of books dealing with St. Francis, it is due largely to the energy and enthusiasm with which M. Sabatier has followed up this subject.

It would be a great mistake, however, to regard the French critic as the only true exponent of the life of St. Francis, or to suppose that the world was left in ignorance of the *Poverello* until he entered the field of *Franciscalia*. M. Sabatier himself would be the last to undervalue the research and erudition of his many predecessors in this field.

But though the movement of Franciscan studies did not originate with M. Sabatier, he has certainly given it form and volume. Prior to 1894 when the translation of M. Sabatier's *Life* appeared,<sup>134</sup> most English non-Catholics read of St. Francis in Mrs. Oliphant's popular biography<sup>135</sup> [1871] and in Sir James Stephen's well-known essay.<sup>136</sup> Since then several lives have appeared in English. These works for the most part owe their inspiration directly or indirectly to M. Sabatier. Had he not written his *Life of St. Francis*, it is more than probable that such sketches of it as those by the Hon. and Rev. J.

Adderley,<sup>137</sup> Rev. Dr. McIlvaine<sup>138</sup> and Miss Stoddart<sup>139</sup>—to mention only three English biographies—would never have seen the light. Be this as it may, it is surely no injustice to these writers or to other recent English,<sup>140</sup> German,<sup>141</sup> French,<sup>142</sup> Italian and Spanish<sup>143</sup> biographers of the Saint to say that the finally acceptable, critical life of the real St. Francis is still an unwritten volume in any language. Perhaps it is too early to look for such a *desideratum*.<sup>144</sup> Without doubt the best biography of the Saint thus far issued under Catholic auspices is Abbé Le Monnier's well-known *History*.<sup>145</sup> It is based on original research and, though it displays undue dependence upon certain sources to the exclusion of others, it is altogether worthy of its subject. Those who prefer a shorter and less expensive book may be referred to the biography of Fr. Leopold de Chérancé,<sup>146</sup> which is none the less readable for being written in an enthusiastic style and for being based largely on the *Fioretti*. Among modern non-Catholic works on St. Francis that of Canon Knox Little is generally ranked highest.<sup>147</sup> Never mind if some of its pages savor more of homiletics than of history; it is the work of a thoroughly devout scholar, and contains a very suggestive outline of St. Francis's manifold lines of influence.

To be sure, St. Francis sought first the kingdom of God and His justice, and never strove to divert the course of art or to force poetry to take a new direction. But these things were added unto him, and among those to whom Italian art and letters owe an incalculable debt we must assuredly reckon the *Poverello* of Assisi. Indeed the present widespread interest in St. Francis has been materially reinforced by artistic and literary influences.<sup>148</sup> Spite of its defects from a theological point of view, Thode's monumental work already referred to may be regarded as an authority for the influence of St. Francis on early Italian art. Ozanam's *Poëtes Franciscains* fulfills the same office in regard to literature, even though some of its views may now seem a trifle antiquated.<sup>149</sup> Neither of these works has been translated, but in her *Franciscan Legends* in

Italian Art<sup>150</sup> Miss Gurney Salter has drawn largely on Thode and otherwise produced an excellent compendium. Her mode of dealing with Giotto's frescoes in the Upper Church at Assisi is specially admirable, and most critics will agree with her view that there is no true portrait of St. Francis in the modern sense of the word. The iconography of St. Francis has also been dealt with in a special volume by Westlake<sup>151</sup> and the richly illustrated work of Plon Nourrit<sup>152</sup> should not be overlooked by those whom the subject interests.

It has been truly said that to know St. Francis one must know the places where he lived. In the Story of Assisi<sup>153</sup> Miss Duff Gordon has described these places in and around St. Francis's native town with sympathetic historical insight, great charm of style and all due reverence. Much interesting information about Mount La Verna by one who knows and loves it is contained in Mr. Carmichael's delightful volume on Tuscany.<sup>154</sup> Gubbio, the country of Brother Wolf, has been treated apart.<sup>155</sup> The Cruickshank's Umbrian Towns is of wider scope,<sup>156</sup> and it is with something more than mere geographical knowledge that Mr. Edward Hutton in a more recent volume takes us through Perugia, Spello, Foligno, Spoleto, and other ancient hill-set cities which dominate the valley of Spoleto, with the grand spirit of its saints and of its painters brooding over them all.<sup>157</sup> We are able to follow St. Francis and his first companions still further afield, with M. Sabatier for guide, in Mrs. De Selincourt's Homes of the First Franciscans,<sup>158</sup> which tells of the Umbrian solitudes and less known *loci* on the borders of Tuscany and the Northern Marches. There is much that is praiseworthy in this dainty book, but unfortunately its statements are not always to be taken on trust, and in at least one instance it places St. Francis—no doubt unintentionally—in a position for which there is no warrant in history. In Miss Macdonell's more scholarly Sons of Francis<sup>159</sup> we meet not only the well-known daily companions of the *Poverello*, but others separated from him by time or circumstance, although united in spirit. The

author has gone to original authorities for most of the material utilized, but has in some instances simply elaborated portraits M. Sabatier had already sketched. Her book is not without blemishes, but the student with sufficient fore-knowledge of facts to discount the bias which the author professes will find her vivid character sketches not only entertaining and suggestive but an incentive to a closer acquaintance with the early Sources.

For such as are more directly interested in the social aspect of St. Francis's life Fr. Dubois has provided a work in which the sociological point of view is taken throughout.<sup>160</sup> Even those who object to the author's views and conclusions must be grateful for his scholarly introduction and exhaustive bibliography. Students who are considering the possibility of applying the principles which underlie the work of St. Francis to the social needs of our day may derive many helpful suggestions from Fr. Cuthbert's treatment of St. Francis's social apostolate.<sup>161</sup> There are also special studies of St. Francis from the psychological and medical standpoint.<sup>162</sup> Those finally who desiderate a "five-minute" book which they can take up without fear of being worried by any theorizing or controversy will find selections for every day in the year from early Franciscan writings in Howell's *Franciscan Days*<sup>163</sup>—a work excellent in plan if less so in execution.

But I must forbear including books which go beyond the limits of my subject, although I am far from supposing that we have exhausted the list of works connected with it.<sup>164</sup> For the rest, not a little of the best literature dealing with our subject, especially of a critical kind, has in recent times appeared in serial publications and periodicals. There have been several new departures in this field. M. Sabatier has been mainly instrumental in the establishment of two series of publications—the *Collection d'Etudes et de Documents*<sup>165</sup> and the *Opuscules de Critique Historique*.<sup>166</sup> The works so far published in the first series are of unequal value. They include, besides M. Sabatier's editions of the *Speculum Perfectionis*, the *Actus B. Francisci*, and the

Tractatus de Portiuncula already mentioned, a rather one-sided study of Brother Elias by Dr. Lempp<sup>167</sup> and two early lives of St. Antony of Padua, with notes, by De Kerval.<sup>168</sup> Perhaps the most valuable issue of the *Opuscules*—of which some eleven numbers have appeared up to date—is that containing the *Regula Antiqua*<sup>169</sup> which must represent a very early form of the original Rule for Tertiaries.

With a view to furthering and systematizing the study of early Franciscan history within the Order, the present Minister-General of the Friars Minor, Fr. Dionysius Schuler, in a recent timely and important encyclical—which seems to put the whole question on the proper basis<sup>170</sup>—announces the institution of a new historical quarterly which will bear the title *Archivium Franciscano-Historicum*. The first number of this review will appear shortly and the fact that it will be edited by the *Patres Editores* of Quaracchi is assurance enough that it will be worth having. Meanwhile the space devoted to Franciscan history by Fr. Van Ortroy, S.J., and others in the *Analecta Bollandiana*<sup>171</sup> assumes yearly larger proportions. Besides, we have the nine-year old *Etudes Franciscaines* published monthly by the French Capuchins<sup>172</sup> and the *Bullettino Critico di Cose Francescane*, a Florentine quarterly started by Luigi Suttina in 1905.<sup>173</sup> Both these periodicals are well edited and up to date, but the former would be more helpful to the student of Franciscan Sources if it devoted less space to purely theological questions, and the latter if it appeared with greater regularity. Special mention must also be made of the *Augusta Perusia* which is directed by Ciro Trabalza and devoted to the topography, art and manners of Umbria.<sup>174</sup>

There is as yet no periodical in English of the same class as these, but some of the monthlies published for Franciscan Tertiaries often contain able contributions from well-known scholars,<sup>175</sup> and not a few important articles have appeared in recent years in magazines of a more general character.<sup>176</sup>

The recent remarkable growth of scholarly interest in St. Francis found further expression

in the foundation at Assisi in 1902 of an International Society of Franciscan Studies, of which an English branch exists in London. The aim of this Society is to found at Assisi a complete library of works on Franciscan history, to assist the students of Franciscan history in various ways and to compile a catalogue of Franciscan MSS. in different European countries. Thus stated the purposes of the Society are conformable to the design of Rev. Joseph Elisei, the lamented young priest who first projected it, but if we may believe the criticisms passed in certain quarters<sup>177</sup> upon some of the volumes published under its auspices, it is to be feared that its "studies" are not influenced wholly by historical considerations. Be this as it may, at least two books published by members of the Society in question are a distinct asset—Prof. Little's *Initia*<sup>178</sup> and Prof. Alessandri's catalogue of the Assisian Library<sup>179</sup>—and for the rest it is perhaps too early as yet to pass judgment upon the achievements of the Society.

For it should be remembered that the work of Franciscan study and research has only just begun. Much indeed has been already done, but the result is to some extent *sub judice* so to say: much more yet remains to be accomplished. There are missing MSS. still to be recovered; there are Legends already in our possession still to be edited—a conspicuous example being that of St. Clare.<sup>180</sup> It is not easy, therefore, to give a categorical answer to the question often asked: what results have been so far attained in consequence of the momentous movement of Franciscan study and research.<sup>181</sup> Besides, so much depends upon the point of view. But it seems safe to say that on the whole nothing has been brought to light that need alter our views materially on the chief facts of early Franciscan history; that nothing has been added to the life of St. Francis different from what has been known all along to the patient scholars whose lives were largely spent in the study of crabbed mediæval MSS. and well nigh forgotten volumes of Franciscan lore before that study became the vogue.

The strenuous research work of the last decade

has resulted then not so much in the discovery of new documents as in the reproduction and translation of the early MSS. authorities and of original studies on these Sources. We can now boast on the one hand of definitive editions—presuming no unlooked-for developments upset them—of the Works of St. Francis, of the Legends by Celano, St. Bonaventure, Julian of Speyer, the Anonymous Perugian, John of Ceperano, Bernard of Besse, of the Chronicles of Glassberger, Salimbene, the XXIV Generals, Eccleston, and the Conformities by Bartholomew of Pisa, as mentioned above. We are also in possession of provisional editions of the Legend of the Three Companions, the Speculum Perfectionis, and the Actus B. Francisci, while critical editions of Jordan's Chronicle, the Tribulations and Fioretti are already in sight. On the other hand as a result of the original researches of different scholars more light has been thrown upon certain details of the Seraphic legislation. Some misconceptions have been removed, as in the case of the authorship of the Fioretti. Some obscurities, like those surrounding the Portiuncula Indulgence, have been drawn into clearer sunlight. Fresh speculations have been added to previous conclusions more especially as to the authorship of the early Legends. No doubt the criticism of recent years has been for the most part destructive—though few go so far in this respect as Tamassia.<sup>182</sup> It would be very short-sighted, however, to say the least, to regard it as sterile in consequence, since the new theories advanced, no less than the lost MSS. recovered and old works republished, offer so much fresh data for a more accurate study of the life of St. Francis.<sup>183</sup>

FR. PASCHAL ROBINSON, O.F.M.

Franciscan Convent,  
Washington, D. C.  
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## Notes

- 1 The publishers of this little book will gladly endeavor to procure any works hereinafter mentioned which the reader may not be able to obtain through the ordinary channels.
- 2 See his "Franciscan Literature for English Readers": *Occasional Paper*, No. 1. International Society of Franciscan Studies (British Branch).
- 3 Dr. Creighton, late Bishop of London. See his three lectures on St. Francis. *English Historical Review*, vol. v, No. 20.
- 4 Gebhart: *L'Italie Mystique*, p. 106.
- 5 At least in English. But Fr. Hartmann Grisar, S.J., has begun to publish a most interesting and authentic survey of the Middle Ages which goes far towards filling this long felt gap. The first volume of this work has lately been translated into French (Paris: Desclée, 1906) and will, it is hoped, appear in English. Meanwhile on special subjects and particular persons there is, of course, no end of works.
- 6 See on this head the admirable remarks of Prof. Oscar Kuhns in his *Saint Francis of Assisi*. New York: Crowell, 1906. 8vo, pp. 38.
- 7 See "The Sources of the History of St. Francis of Assisi," by Prof. A. G. Little in the *English Historical Review*, Oct., 1902, pp. 643-677; "Les Sources de l'Histoire de Saint François d'Assise," by Léon de Kerval in *Bullettino Critico di Cose Francescane*, 1905, three articles; "Rassegna Francescana," by Prof. U. Cosmo in

*Giornale Stor. della letterat. ital.* xxiv, pp. 142-3; *Appunti Bibliografici di Studi Franciscani*, by Luigi Suttina. Erlangen: Junge, 1904, 8vo, pp. 28; *Some Pages of Franciscan History*, a reprint of two articles from *The Dolphin* of July-Aug., 1905. London: Cath. Truth Soc., 1906, 24mo, pp. 74; and "St. Francis of Assisi in Modern Critical Thought," by Ernesto Buonaiuti in *New York Review*, Jan.-Feb., 1907, pp. 459-478.

8 See "La Question Franciscaine," by A. Fierens in *Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique*, Jan. 15, 1907, p. 57; also "Franciscan Literature" in *Edinburgh Review*, Jan., 1904, p. 150.

9 *Opuscula Sancti Patris Francisci Assisiensis*, sec. codices mss. emendata et denuo edita. Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi), 1904, 16mo, pp. xvi-209.

10 Prof. H. Boehmer: *Analekten zur Geschichte des Franciscus von Assisi*, Tübingen and Leipzig: Mohr, 1904, 8vo, pp. lxxii-146. Prof. Walter Goetz: *Die Quellen zur Geschichte des hl. Franz von Assisi*, Gotha: Perthes, 1904. 8vo, pp. 259. Fr. Ubald d'Alençon O.M.C. *: Les Opuscules de S. François d'Assise*, Paris: Poussielgue, 1905, 32mo, pp. vii-286.

11 See Fr. Van Ortry, S.J.: *Analecta Bollandiana*, tom. xxiv (1905), pp. 411-414; Paul Sabatier: "Examen de quelques travaux récents sur les opuscules de Saint François," in *Opuscules*, fasc. x, Paris: 1904; and "The Writings of St. Francis," by Montgomery Carmichael in the *Month*, Jan., 1904, pp. 156-164.

12 The vexed question of the Seraphic Legislation calls for treatment apart. See *Seraphicae Legislationis Textus Originales*. Quaracchi, 1897, 8vo, pp. 312; see also "The Origin of the Rule of St. Francis," by Montgomery Carmichael in *Dublin Review*, Vol. cxxxiv (1904), pp. 357-385; "Die Anfänge des Clarissenordens," by Fr.

Leonard Lemmens, O.F.M., in *Römische Quartalschrift*, tom. xvi (1902), pp. 93 seq.; *Les Origines de l'Ordo de Poenitentia*, Freiburg, 1898, and *Les Règles et le Gouvernement de l'Ordo de Poenitentia au XIII Siècle*, Paris, 1902.

13 The Writings of St. Francis of Assisi. Newly translated into English, with an Introduction and Notes, by Fr. Paschal Robinson, O.F.M., Philadelphia: The Dolphin Press, 1906, 8vo, pp. xxxii-208. See also Anne Macdonell: *The Words of St. Francis*. London: Dent, 1904, pp. 95.

14 Reginald Balfour: *The Seraphic Keepsake*. London: Burns & Oates; New York: Benziger, 1905, 16mo, pp. vii-124. The purpose of this volume is to vindicate the authenticity of these autographs. Mr. Carmichael's article, "A Fourth Autograph of St. Francis," in the *Franciscan Annals*, March, 1906, should be read by way of postscript.

15 It was on May 8, 1213, that Count Orlando of Chiusi gave La Verna to St. Francis. The deed of donation drawn up July 9, 1274, and preserved in the archives of Borgo San Sepolcro is given by Sbaralea: *Bullarium*, tom. iv, p. 156, n. h.

16 *Registri dei cardinali Ugolino di Ostia e Ottaviano degli Ubaldini*. Ed. Guido Levi: Rome, 1890, 4to, pp. xxviii-250.

17 See J. H. Sbaralea, O.M. Conv. *Bullarium Franciscanum*, 4 vol. Rome, 1759-1768, for text of this and other Bulls concerning St. Francis and the Franciscans.

18 The Office of St. Francis in the Seraphic Breviary dates from about 1235 and was written by Julian of Speyer who incorporated some antiphons composed by Gregory IX and two cardinals. (See Wadding: *Annales*, Ed., 1732, tom. ii, p. 204.) It is probably based on the Legend written by Julian himself. (See Note 26.)

19 The text of this Bull (issued Sept. 28, 1230, by Gregory IX to settle some doubts which had arisen as to the observance of the Rule) is given by Sbaralea: *Bullarium*, tom. i, pp. 68-70, and reproduced in the *Speculum Perfectionis*, Ed. Sabatier, p. 314. See *Anal. Francis.* tom. iii, p. 213, as to the circumstances attending its promulgation.

20 See *Chron. XXIV Gen.* (in *Anal. Francis.* tom. iii) pp. 34, 72, 89. The account given of this incident in the *Speculum Vitae* may be found in *Spec. Perf.* Ed. Sabatier, p. li. But see Tilemann: *Speculum Perfectionis*, etc. Leipzig: Eger, 1902, 8vo, pp. 152, p. 19.

21 On Joachim and the Eternal Gospel, see Salimbene: *Chronica*, Ed. Parma, p. 98; Denifle: "Das Evangelium  $\ddot{A}$ ternum, etc." in *Archiv*, tom. i (1885), pp. 49-142; and Schneider: *Joachim von Floris und die Apokalyptiker des Mittelalters*, Dillingen, 1902, pp. 26-34; also Renan: *Nouvelles  $\ddot{E}$ tudes*, etc., p. 217; Tocco: *L'Eresia del Medio Evo*, l. II, Cap. I; Gebhart: l. c., pp. 52-82.

22 See Ehrle, in *Archiv* tom. i, pp. 509-69; tom. ii, pp. 108-64, 249-327; tom. iii, pp. 553-623; tom. iv, pp. 1-190 on Clarenzo; tom. ii, pp. 353-416; tom. iii, pp. 1-195 on Ubertino; tom. iii, pp. 409-552 on Olivi. See also the ample details given by Fr. Ignatius Jeiler, O.F.M., in the article "Franziskanerorden" in *Kirchenlexicon*, tom. iv, and Huck: *Ubertin von Casale und dessen Ideenkreis*, Freiburg: 1903, 8vo, pp. vi-107, p. 70 seq.

23 A biographical sketch of Celano is given in the introduction to Fr. Edouard d'Alencon's definitive edition of his works (see below, Note 34), pp. ix-xxiii.

24 First published by the Bollandists in 1768 (*Acta SS.*, tom. ii, October, pp. 683-723), republished by Rinaldi, Rome, 1806, and Amoni, Rome, 1880.

25 Of this legend we possess only a liturgical résumé found by Fr. Denifle (see *Zeitschrift für Kath. Theol.*, vii, p. 170, also *Archiv* tom. i (1885), p. 148) and edited by Père Edouard d'Alençon, *Legenda Brevis S. Francisci* (*Spicilegium Franciscanum*), Rome, typ. Kleinbub, 1899.

26 Re-edited by Fr. Van Ortry in *Anal. Boll.* xxi (1902), pp. 160–202. Its identity with the anonymous *Vita Secunda* beginning "Ad hoc quorundam," printed in the *Acta SS.* (Ed. 1868) Oct., tom. ii, *Comm. Praev.*, pp. 548–683, was pointed out by Fr. Ferdinand Marie d'Araules, O.F.M., in his *Vie de S. Antoine* (Bordeaux, 1899). Appendix pp. 166–184. See also J. E. Weis: *Julian von Speier* (Munich, 1900) and *Anal. Boll.* xix (1900), pp. 321–340.

27 In his *Speculum Historiale*, l. 29, c. 97–99; lib. 30, c. 99–111, Vincent of Beauvais, O.P. [+1264], has followed the legend by Julian of Speyer. See Bouteric: *Examen des Sources du Spec. Hist.* Paris, 1863.

28 This poem in hexameter verse, erroneously attributed to John of Kent, was written about 1230. It has been edited by Cristofani: *Il piu antico poema della vita di S. Francesco*. Prato: Guasti, 1882, 1 vol. in 8vo, pp. 287.

29 Written about 1244 by Barth. of Trent, O.P., for his *Liber Epilogorum in gesta Sanctorum* and edited by Lemmens in his *Excerpta Celanensis*. Quaracchi, 1901.

30 His *Vita Minor* was written for use in choir and served that purpose until superseded by the *Legenda Minor* by St. Bonaventure. It was published by Papini after the Assisi MS. 338 (*Notizie*, etc., pp. 239–243) and has been republished by Lemmens in his *Excerpta Celanensis* (Quaracchi, 1901).

31 First printed by Rinaldi in 1806 and reprinted by Amoni in 1880.

32 First edited by Fr. Van Ortroy, S.J., in the *Anal. Boll.*, 1899, tom. xviii, pp. 81-176.

33 They are both contained in Père Edouard d'Alençon's edition of Celano (see below, Note 34). Celano is also the author of the *Dies Iræ*—see Ermini: *Il Dies Iræ*, Rome, 1903, and of the Legend of St. Clare (*Acta SS.*, tom. ii, Aug. die 12).

34 *S. Francisci Assisiensis: vita et miracula, additis opusculis liturgicis, auctore Fr. Thoma de Celano.* Hanc editionem novam ad fidem MSS. recensuit P. Eduardus Alenconiensis, O.F.M.Cap. Rome: Desclée, 1906, 16mo, pp. lxxxvii-481.

35 If I pass over Dr. Rosedale's edition of Celano (London: Dent, 1904), it is because it is unfortunately without scientific value (see the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique*: Louvain, 1905, tom. vi, pp. 376-378, and the *Bullettino Critico*: Florence, 1905, p. 177); and also to some extent "pirated" if we may believe the London *Saturday Review* (see issues of May 12, Aug. 12, and Oct. 6, 1906).

36 It has been reprinted separately from tom. viii of the *Opera Omnia* of St. Bonaventure (together with his *Legenda Minor* written for use in choir) at Quaracchi. *Doctoris Seraphici S. Bonaventuræ: Legendaæ duæ de vita S. Francisci*, Quaracchi, 1898, 16mo, pp. viii-270.

37 This decree, first edited by Rinaldi (Ed. Leg., p. xi) from a MS. (now lost) of the Convent of St. Francis at Gubbio, was edited in part by Prof. Little after the Phillipps MS. 207. See "Decrees of the Chapters-General of the Friars Minor, 1260-1282," in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, tom. xiii (1898), pp. 704-8. Another copy was later found in the Vatican Library by Fr. Van Ortroy, S.J. (see *Anal. Boll.* tom. xviii, p. 174).

38 See *Anal. Boll.* l. c.; *Études Franciscaines*, tom. i, p. 656; *Misc. Franc.*, tom. vii, p. 159.

39 Including Lemmens (*Documenta Antiqua Franciscana*, pars. ii, p. 11) and Little (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Oct., 1902, p. 651); see also *The Dolphin*, July, 1905, pp. 41-42.

40 By Miss Lockhart, with a preface by Cardinal Manning. London: Washbourne, 4th edit., 1898, 16mo, pp. 187. There is a more recent translation by Miss Gurney Salter in the *Temple Classics*, London: Dent, 1904, 16mo, pp. vi-219.

41 See *Sancti Francisci Legendam Trium Sociorum, ex cod. Fulg.*, edidit M. Faloci Pulignani. Foligno, 1898, 8vo, pp. 104 (reprinted from the *Misc. Franc.*, tom. vii (1898), pp. 81-107).

42 *Speculum Perfectionis*, Ed. Sabatier, Paris, 1898. See also "Speculum Perfectionis." Ed. Lemmens in *Documenta Antiqua Franciscana*, pars 11. Quaracchi, 1901. A synopsis of the controversial literature to which the *Speculum* gave rise will be found in the *Bullettino Critico*, Dec., 1905, p. 109.

43 PP. Marcellino da Civezza and Teofilo Domenichelli, L. de Kerval, Prof. U. Cosmo, F. Tocco, W. Goetz, E. Lempp, and L. Suttina hold the first opinion; Abbé Vernet and Dr. Tilemann place the date at 1246; Fr. Mandonnet at 1248; Mgr. Faloci at 1250; Fr. Edouard d'Alençon at 1318; Fr. Lemmens, Don Minocchi, and Prof. Little attribute a part of the work to the thirteenth century and the rest to the fourteenth. Fr. Van Ortroy and Della Giovanna regard it as entirely a fourteenth-century production.

44 In 1768 (see *Acta SS.*, tom. ii, Oct., pp. 723 seq.) and reprinted by Rinaldi in 1831 and by Amoni in 1880.

45 *La Leggenda di San Francesco* scritta da tre suoi compagni, pubblicata per la prima volta nella vera sua integrità dai Padri Marcellino da Civezza e Teofilo Domenichelli dei Minori. Rome: tip. Sallustiana, 1899, 16mo, pp. xxxvi-267.

46 See below, Note 74.

47 *La Leggenda Antica*. Ed. Minocchi, Firenze: Bib. Scientifica Religiosa, 1905, 8vo, pp. xxxii-184. A reprint from the *Studi Religiosi* of a xiv century Umbrian version of a lost Latin Legend by a "Spiritual" Friar. Mgr. Faloci edited the same text after another MS. in his *Misc. Franc.*, tom. viii (1901), pp. 81-119.

48 See P. Girolamo Golubovich, O.F. M.: *Esame di Alcune fonti Storiche di S. Francesco*, etc. Firenze: Tip. Barbèra, 1905, pp. 12.

49 *Fragmenta Franciscana, Dialogus de vitis sanctorum fratrum minorum*. Scriptum circa 1245, nunc primum edidit Fr. Leonardus Lemmens. Romae, typis Sallustianis, 1902, 8vo, pp. xxiv-124.

50 It was translated into English for the first time by Dr. Sebastian Evans, London: Nutt, 1898, 16mo, pp. xvi-232, under the title of *The Mirror of Perfection*. Another version, newly translated by Robert Steele from the Cottonian MS. appeared in the *Temple Classics*, London: Dent, 1903, 16mo, pp. 197. Yet another translation by Constance, Countess de la Warr, London: Burns & Oates, 1902, 8vo, pp. xvi-185, is enhanced by a preface from the pen of Fr. Cuthbert, O.S.F.C. The *Inner Life of St. Francis*, by Fr. Stanislaus O.S.F.C., London: Cath. Truth Soc., 1900, contains in compendious form a translation of the chief parts of the *Speculum*. It is adapted from the French of the Abbé Vernet (see Note 142).

51 By Miss E. Gurney Salter: *The Legend of the Three Companions*, London: Dent, 1902. An accurate but archaic version (of the text only) based on Mgr. Faloci's edition, 16mo, pp. 136.

52 Edited for the first time by Fr. Lemmens in his *Excerpta Celanensis*, Quaracchi, 1901, pp. 1-73. The biography by the "Anonymus Perusinus," published in fragmentary form in the *Acta SS.* (tom. ii, Oct., *Comm. Praev.*), has been edited by Fr. Van Ortroy in the *Misc. Franc.*, tom. ix, pp. 33-48.

53 This work, written about 1280 by Bernard of Besse, the secretary of St. Bonaventure, besides a résumé of some of the earlier Legends, contains brief but invaluable information about the companions of St. Francis and the foundation of the three Orders, and is the only XIII century document which specifies the first biographies of the *Poverello*. About 1297-1300 Bernard of Besse compiled a Catalogue of the Ministers General of the Order up to his time, which is a Source of considerable importance. Both these works were edited, almost simultaneously, by Fr. Hilarin Felder, O.M.Cap., Rome: typ. Industriale, 1897, 16mo, pp. xvi-144, and by the Quaracchi Friars (*Anal. Francis.*, tom. iii (1897), pp. 666-707).

54 See *Legenda Aurea*, Ed. Groesse: Breslau, 1890, c. cxliii, pp. 662-674.

55 See "Chronica Fratris Jordani a Giano" in *Anal. Francis.*, Quaracchi, 1885, tom. i, pp. 1-19. This edition is more reliable than that previously issued by Dr. Voigt: *Die Denkwürdigkeiten des Minoriten Jordanus von Giano*, Leipsic: Hirzel, 1870.

56 On this MS. see *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, vol. v, pp. 754 seq.

57 See *Monumenta Franciscana*, Ed. Brewer, London: Longmans, 1858, pp. 2-72; also *Anal. Francis.*, tom. i, pp. 217-257.

58 *The Friars and How They Came to England*, London: Sands, and St. Louis: Herder 1903, 16mo, pp. 252. The translation is considerably enhanced by a scholarly and suggestive Introductory Essay on "The Spirit and Genius of the Franciscan Friars."

59 *The Coming of the Friars*, by Rev. Augustus Jessop, D.D., was also drawn from Eccleston. This brilliant sketch has been reprinted from the *Nineteenth Century*, vol. xiv, p. 78, with other essays, New York: Putnam, 1889, and with Prof. Little's *Grey Friars in Oxford* (Oxford, 1892), will also be read with interest by those who wish to study how the Franciscan movement took shape in England.

60 *Chronica fratris Salimbene Parmensis Ordinis Minorum, ex codice Bibliothecae Vaticanae nunc primum edita*. Parmae: Fiaccadori, 1857, 4to, pp. xiv-424.

61 See *Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Scriptorum)*, tom. xxxii, pars I, pp. 360. Hanover: Hahn, 1905, 4to.

62 *From St. Francis to Dante*. A translation of all that is of primary interest in the Chronicle of the Franciscan Salimbene [1221-1288], together with Notes from other mediæval sources. By G. G. Coulton, M.A. London: Nutt, 1906, 16mo, pp. vi-364.

63 *New York Times (Saturday Review of Books)*, Sept. 29, 1906, p. 602. See also *Hibbert Journal*, April, 1907, pp. 663-669.

64 Written during the lifetime of St. Francis and edited at Douay in 1597. The fragments relating to St. Francis have been republished by Boehmer, l. c., pp. 94 seq., and by P. Ubald d'Alençon, l. c., pp. 276 seq. See also Fr. Felder, O.M.Cap.: *Jacobi Vitriacensis, etc. Sermones ad Fratres Minores*. Rome, 1903, 16mo, pp. xi-63.

65 See Martene: *Amplissima Collectio*, tom. v, col. 689-690. This gives the longest account we have of St. Francis's interview with the Sultan.

66 Edited by Abel and Weiland in *Mon. Germ. Script.*, tom. xxiii, pp. 333-383; contains some curious criticism by a Premonstratensian abbot who died in 1226.

67 See S. Bonav. *Leg. Maj.* Ed. Quaracchi, c. iii, n. 10.

68 *Sacrum Commercium Beati Francisci cum Domina Paupertate.* Opus, Anno Domini 1227, conscriptum ad fidem variorum Codicum, MS., etc., edidit P. Eduardus Alinconiensis, O.M.C., Rome: Kleinbub, 1900, 4to, pp. xviii-52.

69 Unless, of course, it be true that the *Speculum Perfectionis* was written as a complete work earlier in the same year.

70 *Le Mistiche Nozze di San Francesco e Madonna Povertà*, Allegoria Francescana del Secolo XIII. Ed. Salvatore Minocchi, Florence, 1901, 12mo, pp. xxiv-70.

71 See *Chron. XXIV Gen.* in *Anal. Francis.*, tom. iii, p. 283, where the work is ascribed to Bl. John of Parma.

72 Ubertino da Casale in his *Arbor Vitae Crucifixi Jesu* [1305] ascribes it merely to "a certain holy doctor."

73 *The Lady Poverty*. A XIII Century Allegory. Translated and edited by Montgomery Carmichael; with a chapter on "The Spiritual Significance of Evangelical Poverty," by Fr. Cuthbert, O.S.F.C. London: Murray; New York: Tennant and Ward, 1902, 12mo, pp. xlviii-209. The subsequent translation by Canon Rawnsley, published in the *Temple Classics* ("The Converse of Francis and His Sons with Holy Poverty." London: Dent, 1904), fell foul of the critics owing mainly it seems to M. Sabatier's "Introduction." See London

*Saturday Review*, June 18, July 16 and 23, August 20-27, 1904.

74 *Actus B. Francisci et Sociorum ejus.* Ed. Sabatier, Paris, 1902, 8vo, pp. lxiv-272 [vol. iv of the *Collection d'Études*]: *Floretum S. Francisci Assisiensis.* Ed. Sabatier, Paris, 1903.

75 Perhaps the best version hitherto published for the general reader is that of Antonio Cesari (Verona, 1822) which is based on the epoch-making edition of Filippo Buonarroti (Florence, 1718). The Crusca quote from both these editions.

76 One, with a preface by Card. Manning, was published (London: Burns & Oates) in 1887, and another, based on the translation issued by the Franciscan Fathers at Upton (London: Kegan Paul), reissued in 1905. Prof. Arnold's version, newly translated out of the Italian for the *Temple Classics* (London: Dent, 1899) has enjoyed wide popularity. A new translation of the *Fioretti*, by W. Heywood, with an Introduction by A. G. Ferrers Howell, has lately been issued (London: Methuen, 1906). A recent metrical version of the *Fioretti*: *The Little Flowers of St. Francis in English Verse*, by James Rhoades (London: Chapman & Hall; New York: Dutton, 1904, 8vo, pp. 303), is not without interest, though most readers will be apt to prefer the prose itself.

77 The writings of the "Spirituals" have been edited with marvellous erudition by Fr. Ehrle, S.J., in the *Archiv* (see Note 22.)

78 See Knoth: *Ubertino von Casale*, Marburg: Elwert, 1903, 8vo, pp. viii-162; Huck: *Ubertin von Casale*, Freiburg: Herder, 1903, 8vo, pp. vi-107. See also the review of these works by Fr. Michael Bihl, O.F.M., in *Études Franciscaines*, Feb., 1905, and above, Note 22.

79 The *Arbor Vitae Crucifixi* which was edited at Venice in 1485 and reprinted there in 1500 in folio and in 1564 in 4to. contains the beautiful "Prayer of St. Francis to obtain holy poverty," erroneously included among the *Opuscula* of St. Francis by Wadding and others. See the admirable translation of this prayer by Mr. Carmichael which forms Appendix I of "The Lady Poverty."

80 See *Acta SS.*, June 15, and *Cath. Ency.*, article "Angelo Clareno."

81 Ehrle, in *Archiv*, vol. ii and iv; and Döllinger: *Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters*, Munich, 1890, Theil i, p. 417.

82 See *The Golden Sayings of Bl. Giles*, Philadelphia: Dolphin Press, 1906, *Introduction*.

83 Written about 1335. See *Fragmenta Minora: Catalogus S. fratrum minorum*. Quem scriptum circa 1335, edidit notisque illustravit Fr. Leonardus Lemmens, Romae: typis Sallustianis, 1903, 8vo, pp. xvi-54.

84 A fragment of the chronicle written in 1305 in the form of a letter to the Minister General Gonsalvo was edited by Prof. Little in the *Bullettino*, fasc. i, pp. 45 seq.

85 In *Anal. Franc.*, tom. iii: *Chronica XXIV Generalium Ordinis Minorum* [1209-1374], cum pluribus Appendicibus, inter quas excellit hucusque ineditus liber de Laudibus S. Francisci fr. Bernardi a Bessa. Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi), 1897, 4to, pp. xxviii-748.

86 It was printed at Milan in 1510 and in 1513. The edition published in 1590, especially in the historical part, is mutilated and corrupted at almost every page, as I can personally attest after a comparison of it with several old MS. versions.

87 *Anal. Franc.*, tom. iv: *De Conformatitate vitae B. P. Francisci ad vitam Domini*

**Nostri Jesu Christi, auctore Fr. Bartholomæo Pisano, O.F.M. Ad Claras Aquas. (Quaracchi), 1906, 4to, pp. xxxv-668.**

88 Fr. Francisci Bartholi, O.F.M.: *Tractatus de Indulgentia S. Mariae de Portiuncula.* Ed. Sabatier, Paris, 1900. See also Petrus Joannis Olivi, O.F.M.: *Quaestio hucusque inedita de veritate indulgentiae vulgo dictae de Portiuncula.* Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi), 1895, 16mo, parvo, pp. 23.

89 Conradus Eubel, O.M.Conv.: *Provinciale Ordinis Fratrum Minorum vetustissimum secundum codicem Vaticanum NR., 1960.* Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi), 1892, 8vo, pp. 90.

90 Mentz, 1463. For other editions, see *Dicta Beati Egidii Assisiensis, sec. codices MSS. emendata et denuo edita a PP. Collegii S. Bonaventurae.* Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi), 1905, 16mo, pp. xx-124. This, the first critical edition of Giles's "Sayings" has been translated into English by the present writer: *The Golden Sayings of Bl. Giles of Assisi*, Phila.: The Dolphin Press, 1907, 12mo, pp. lxiii-204.

91 Florence, 1490, "Per Ser. Francesco Bonaccorsi." Five editions appeared subsequently, the most complete being that of Tressati published at Venice in 1617. A critical edition of Jacopone is much needed. The promised work of Prof. Tenneroni will, no doubt, clear the ground. Meanwhile such contributions to Jacoponic literature as those of Fr. Niccolò Dal-Gal, O.F.M., on the *Stabat Mater* (*La Vergine del Dolore nelle rime di un Francescano*, Rome, 1906); Fr. Livario Olinger, O.F.M., on the place of Jacopone's death (see *L'Oriente Serafico*, Jan. 31, 1907); those of Prof. Tenneroni in the *Nuova Antologia*, June 16, 1906, and of Prof. Trabalza and others in the *Augusta Perusia*, Nov.-Dec., 1906, are of special value.

92 The *Speculum Vitae B. Francisci et Sociorum ejus*, which was quarried largely from the *Actus B. Francisci* mentioned above, was printed at Venice in 1504, at Metz in 1509, and at Antwerp in 1620; the *Speculum Minorum* appeared successively, with some variations in form, at Rouen in 1509, at Salamanca in 1511, and at Paris in 1512.

93 *Anal. Franc.*, tom. ii: *Chronica fratris Nicolai Glassberger* [1206–1517]. Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi), 1887, 4to, pp. xxxvi–612.

94 These *Chronicles* which comprise (1) a general chronicle of the Order, in five volumes; (2) a chronicle of the Order of St. Clare; and (3) one of the Province of Tuscany, were preserved in MS. at the Franciscan convent in Florence, but disappeared in 1810 during the first suppression of the religious orders in Italy. See article on the "Compendium Chronicarum Fratrum Minorum" of Mariano, in the magazine *Luce e Amore* for March, 1904, by Fr. Robert Razzoli, O.F.M., then Provincial at Florence, now Custos of the Holy Land.

95 The *Chronicle of Mark of Lisbon*, who died as Bishop of Oporto in 1591, was continued by Fr. Antonio Daza [1611]. An Italian edition by Horatio Diola was published at Venice in 1606, 3 vols., 8vo, under the title *Croniche degli Ordini instituti dal P. S. Francesco*.

96 Rodulphius Tossinianensi, O.M.Conv.: *Historiarum Seraphicæ Religionis*, libri tres, Venice, 1586, a compilation; Ven. Francis Gonzaga, O.F.M., Minister General [1570–1587], afterwards Bishop of Mantua: *De Origine Seraphicae Religionis Franciscanae ejusque progressibus*, Rome, 1587; Venice, 1603.

97 See *The Life of Fr. Luke Wadding*, by Fr. Jos. O'Shea, O.F.M., Dublin: Gill, 1885.

98 **Annales Minorum seu trium ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum**, 8 vols. : fol., Lyons, 1625-54. Fr. Joseph Man. Fonseca issued a new edition and continuation of the **Annales** in 19 vols., Rome, 1731-45. The official Annalists of the Order have added six volumes; the last volume (tom. 25) edited by Fr. Eusebius Fermendzin (+1899), which reaches to the year 1622, was published at Quaracchi in 1886.

99 **B. P. Francisci Assisiatis Opuscula**, Antwerp, 1623. See above, Note 9.

100 **Scriptores Ordinis Minorum**, Rome, 1650; supplemented by Sbaralea, 1806. See below, Note 109.

101 **Fr. Henricus Sedulius, O.F.M. : Historia Seraphica**, Antwerp, 1613.

102 **Dominicus de Gubernatis, O.F.M. : Orbis Seraphicus**. Five volumes of this now very rare work were published at Rome, 1682, and at Lyons, 1689.

103 His chronicle, "L'Umbria Serafica," which extends from 1208 to 1680, has been published in *Miscell. Francescana* (tom. ii, 1887). An English version of it by "R. E." has been appearing serially in the *Franciscan Monthly*.

104 Arthur: **Martyrologium Franciscanum**, Paris, 1638, and Rouen, 1653; Heuber: **Menologium Franciscanum**, Munich, 1698.

105 **Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe colluntur**, collegit Joannes Bollandus, etc., tom. ii, Oct., *Comm. Prævius*, pp. 545-683.

106 **Bullarium Franciscanum**, etc. Edidit Joh. Hyac. Sbaralea, O.M.Conv., 4 vols., fol., Rome: tom. i (1759); tom. ii (1761); tom. iii (1763); tom. iv (1768); with **Supplementum**, by P. Hannibal de Latera, O.F.M., Rome, 1780; tom. v, published by Conrad Eubel, O.M.Conv., Rome, 1898, is especially rich in documents relating to Pope John XXII.

107 *Vita del beato Giovanni da Parma*, Parma, 1777; *Vita di frate Elia*, Parma, 1783. Second edit., 1819.

108 *Vie de S. Fran<sup>co</sup>ois*, Paris, 1728, 4to, 2 vols. The translation of this work made by the English Oratorians was reprinted in 1899, New York: Sadlier.

109 *Hyacinth Sbaralea*, O.M.Conv., *Supplementum et Castigatio ad Scriptores trium ordinum S. Francisci a Waddingo aliisve descriptos*. Opus posthumum, Rome: Contedini, 1806.

110 *Seraphici viri S. Francisci Assisiatis: Vitae duae auctore B. Thoma a Celano ejus discipulo*. Quarum una ad fidem MS. recensita, altera nunc primum prodit. Romæ, 1806: Ex typ. S. Michaelis ad Ripam apud Linum Contedini. 1 vol., 12mo, pp. xiv-286. This edition is now very rare.

111 *La Storia di S. Francesco d'Assisi: Opera critica*. 2 vols., 4to, Foligno: tip. Tommasini, 1825-27. See also his *Notizie sicure della morte, sepoltura, canonizzazione e translazione di S. Francesco*. 2nd edit. Foligno: tip. Tommasini, 1824. Had Papini had access to all the documents now at the disposal of students his statements would not need correction so often.

112 *L'Abbé Chavin de Malan: Hist. de S. Fran<sup>co</sup>ois d'Assise*, Paris: Sagnier, 1841; Bray, 1869, 8vo (German translation, Münster, 1842, and Ratisbon, 1862. Italian translation, Prato, 1846). The shortcomings of this work are due in great measure to a misconception of the Franciscan ideal as regards Poverty. Frederic Morin: *Saint Fran<sup>co</sup>ois et les Franciscains*, Paris: Hachette, 1858, 16mo. This short but original and most scholarly study is now out of print.

113 Eduard Vogt: *Der hl. Franz von Assisi, ein biographischer Versuch*, Tübingen: Laupp, 1840; Karl Hase: *Franz von Assisi, ein Heiligenbild*, Leipzig, 1856, 8vo. New edition, 1892. No less than sixty pages of the latter work are devoted to the Stigmata.

114 Francesco Prudenzano: *Francesco d'Assisi e il suo secolo*, Naples, 1st edit., 1852; new edition, Naples, 1904, tip. del Diogene, 8vo, pp. 500.

115 Frederic Ozanam: *Les Poëtes Franciscains en Italie au XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, Paris: Lecoffre, 1852, 12mo (German translation by Nic. H. Julius, Munich: Theissing, 1853; Italian trans. by Fanfani, Prato, 1854).

116 Luigi Palomes, O.M.Conv.: *Storia di S. Francesco*, Palermo, 1873.

117 Panfilo da Magliano, O.F.M.: *Storia Compendiosa di S. Francesco e dei Franciscani*, Rome, 1874-76, 2 vols., 18mo. Fr. Luke Carey, O.F.M., the venerable Librarian of St. Isidore's College in Rome, to whom Fr. Panfilo left the MS. notes for the third volume of this work, informed me during my last visit to Italy that these notes being entirely in a shorthand known only to their lamented author, are practically without value. There is a German translation of Fr. Panfilo's work by Fr. Quintianus Mueller, O.F.M., Munich: Stahl, 1883. See also *St. Francis and the Franciscans*, by a Religious of the Order of Poor Clares, Dublin, 1861; New York: O'Shea, 1867, 16mo, pp. 674.

118 P. Léon Patrem, O.F.M.: *Tableau Synoptique de l'histoire de tout l'Ordre Séraphique*, Paris: Œuvre de S. Paul, 1879; also *Appunti Critici Sulla Cronologia della vita di S. Francesco*. These splendid chronological studies appeared in the *Oriente Serafico* (Assisi) 1895, an. vii, n. 4 to 12, and have been reprinted in the *Miscell. Frances.*, vol. ix, fasc. iii, pp. 76-101. They richly deserve

an English translation. At the time of his death (1896) Fr. Léon was engaged in preparing for publication Fra Bartholi's *Treatise on the Porziuncula Indulgence* subsequently edited by M. Sabatier (see above, Note 88).

119 Antonio Cristofani: *Delle Storie D'Assisi, libri sei*, 2nd edit. Assisi, 1875, 2 vols., 8vo.

120 *Vita Prima S. Francisci Assisiensis*, Rome, typ. della Pace, 1880. *Vita Secunda*, ibid. *Vita S. Francisci a divo Bonaventura composita*, Rome, 8vo, pp. 42, typ. Fratrum Monaldi, 1880, 8vo, pp. 152. (An amended Italian version of the latter appeared in 1888, Rome: typ. Vaticana.) *Legenda S. Francisci Assisiensis . . . quæ dicitur Legenda trium Sociorum*, etc. (with Italian version), Rome: typ. Monaldi, 1880, 8vo. For a well meaning attempt to combine these four works, see *S. P. Francisci Assisiensis, Vita et Doctrina, ex T. Celanensis, Trium Sociorum et S. Bonaventuræ Legendis . . .* Fr. Joseph Fratini, O.M.Conv., composuit. Assisi: tip. Metastasio, 1899, pp. 413.

121 Léon de Clary, O.F.M.: *L'Auréole Séraphique*, etc., Paris: Bloud et Barral, 1882, 4 vols., 12mo. There is an excellent translation of this work which, though written from an ecclesiastical point of view, has considerable historical value: *Lives of the Saints and Blessed of the Three Orders of St. Francis*, in 4 vols. (1882-1887), at the Franciscan Convent, Taunton.

122 Ernest Renan: *Nouvelles Études d'Histoire Religieuse*, Paris, 1884, 8vo, pp. 323-351. This study was occasioned by Berthoud's translation of Karl Hase's life of St. Francis.

123 Felice Tocco: *L'Eresia nel Medio Evo*, Florence, 1884, 12mo, pp. vii-585.

124 Ruggero Bonghi: *Francesco d'Assisi*, Studio, Città di Castello, 1884, 8vo, pp. 8-116.

125 Heinrich Thode: *Franz von Assisi und die Anfänge der Kunst der Renaissance in Italien*, Berlin: Grote, 1885, 8vo, pp. xii-573. (New edition, 1904.)

126 Gebhart: *L'Italie Mystique: histoire de la Renaissance religieuse au moyen age*. Paris: Hachette, 1890, 12mo, pp. vii-331. This work had no small influence on M. Sabatier.

127 Karl Müller: *Die Anfänge des Minoritenordens und der Bussbruderschaften*, Freiburg, 1885, 8vo, pp. xii-210.

128 The "Writings" of the Spiritual Friars have been edited with marvellous erudition in the *Archiv*, of which six volumes have so far appeared—the first five 1885-1889 and the sixth in 1892. See above, Notes 22, 80-81.

129 *Analecta Franciscana*, sive *Chronica aliaque documenta ad historiam Fratrum Minorum Spectantia*. The series published under this title, in 4to, by the Friars Minor at St. Bonaventure's College, Quaracchi, contains the texts of a number of early chronicles of the Franciscan Order. Four volumes have appeared so far: vol. i (1885), pp. xix-450, which contains several *Chronica Minora* including those of Jordan (n. 55) and Eccleston (n. 57), is now out of print; vol. ii (1887), pp. xxviii-748, contains the *Chronicle of Glassberger* (n. 93); vol. iii (1897), pp. xxvii-748, contains the *Chronicle of the XXIV Generals* (n. 85), the *Liber de Laudibus* (n. 53), etc.; vol. iv (1906), pp. xxxv-668, contains the *Book of Conformities* (n. 87).

130 *Miscellanea Francescana di Storia, di lettere di Arte*: diretta dal. Sac. Don Michele Faloci Pulignani, Foligno: Tip. Artigianelli di S. Carlo.

131 Paul Sabatier: *Vie de S. François d'Assise*, Paris: Fischbacher, 1894, 8vo, pp. cxxvi-419.

132 By decree of June 8, 1904. An article from which one might be led to conclude that the present writer was in some wise responsible for the condemnation of M. Sabatier's work at Rome appeared in the *New York Herald* of Oct. 8, 1905, and was copied by other papers. It is almost superfluous for me to deny any such misleading statements.

133 The Real St. Francis of Assisi. This work originally appeared in the form of four articles in the *Messenger*, New York, for June-Sept., 1903. These articles were reprinted first in the *Catholic Mind* (1903, Nos. 13, 14, 17, 18); secondly, in pamphlet form, by the *Messenger*, Dec., 1903; and thirdly, with a few alterations, by the Catholic Truth Society, London, 1904.

134 St. Francis of Assisi, by Paul Sabatier: translated by Louise Seymour Houghton, London: Hodder and Stoughton; New York: Scribner, 1894, 8vo, pp. xxxv-448.

135 Margaret Oliphant: *Francis of Assisi*, London: Macmillan, 1871, pp. xxiv-304.

136 See his *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*, etc., 2 vols., 8vo, London, 1849 (re-issued in 2 vols., 1907, New York: Longmans).

137 James Adderley: *Francis, the Little Poor Man of Assisi*, London: Edward Arnold, 1901, pp. ix-167. This "short story" is little more than an abridgment of M. Sabatier's Life combined with extracts from Dr. Evans's translation of the *Mirror of Perfection* and Prof. Arnold's *The Little Flowers*.

138 St. Francis of Assisi: Six Addresses in Lent. By Rev. J. H. McIlvaine, D.D. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1902, p. 158. The critical

value of this monograph is greatly spoilt by insufficient knowledge of the original Sources.

**I39** *Francis of Assisi*, by Anna M. Stoddart. London: Methuen, 1903, pp. xiv-241.

**I40** The sixty odd pages devoted to St. Francis in *Francis and Dominic and the Mendicant Orders*, by Prof. J. Herkless, D.D., in the *Epoch Makers Series* (Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribner 1901), have little independent value. *Brother Francis or Less than the Least*, by Eileen Douglas (*Red Hot Library*, London, 1895), and *St. Francis in History and the Life of To-day*, by T. E. Harvey (London: West, Newman, 1904), represent the standpoint of the Salvation Army and of the Quakers respectively. There are short biographies of St. Francis by Amelia L. Cotton (London: Washbourne) and Fr. Jarlath Prendergast, O.F.M. (London: Cath. Truth Soc.). *A Little Brother to the Birds*, by F. W. Wheldon (London: Methuen, 1906, 8vo, pp. viii-218), is intended to serve as a life of St. Francis for children. There is a more modest work of similar scope by the late Lady Amabel Kerr (London: Cath. Truth Society).

**I41** Among recent German biographies those by the Minister General of the Capuchins and Prof. Schnürer rank highest. The former work, *Leben des heiligen Franciscus von Assisi*, von P. Bernard Christen, O.M. Cap., Innsbruck: Rauch, 1899, pp. 366, has gone through several editions, not only in the original German, but also in French and Italian. Prof. Schnürer's monograph, *Franz von Assisi*, von Gustav Schnurer, Munich: Kirchheim, 1905, 8vo, pp. 136, though less substantial in some respects, shows a much more thorough mastery of the Sources and their very different values. Not the least valuable feature of Dr. Schnürer's monograph is its illustrations.

It has just been translated into Italian by Prof. Merrati: **Francesco d'Assisi**, Florence: Lib. Fiorentina, 1907, 8vo, pp. 170.

142 See Léon De Kerval's: **Saint François d'Assise et l'Ordre Seraphique**, Vanves, 1898, 8vo, pp. 516. Theodore de la Rive: **S. François d'Assise**, Geneva: Eggimann, 1901, 12mo, pp. xviii-156; Paul Henry: **S. François d'Assise et son Ecole**, d'après les documents originaux, Paris: Téqui, 1903, 12mo, pp. xix-208. See also Felix Vernet: **S. François d'Assise intime**, Lyons, 1899.

143 Francesco Tarducci: **Vita di S. Francesco d'Assisi**, Mantua: tip. Mondovi, 1904, pp. xx-433. A painstaking and impartial work but neither brilliant nor final. The Spanish biography of Pardo Bazan, **San Francisco de Assis**, Madrid, 1903, has been translated into French by V. Vignol (Alost, 1904).

144 The news that Fr. Cuthbert, O.S.F.C., is at work on a new life of St. Francis is most welcome, and if we may judge by his recent remarkable book on St. Margaret of Cortona (**A Tuscan Penitent**, London: Burns & Oates, 1907, 12mo), it will be worth having. Biographies of St. Francis are also in preparation by Mr. Edward Hutton and by the present writer.

145 Léon Le Monnier: **Histoire de S. François d'Assise**, Paris: Lecoffre, 1889, 2 vols., 8vo. The excellent translation of this work by a Franciscan Tertiary, with an introduction by Cardinal Vaughan (London: Kegan Paul, 1894, 8vo, pp. xxiv-524), is well-nigh out of print. The sixth French edition (1906) is prefaced by an essay on the Sources of the History of St. Francis which is, unfortunately, not calculated to increase Abbé Le Monnier's reputation as a biographer (see *Revue d'histoire Ecclesiastique*. Louvain, Jan., 1907, p. 79).

146 P. Leopold de Chérancé, O.M.Cap.: *Saint François d'Assise*. Paris: Poussielgue, 1880, 12mo, seventh edit., 1900. A new edition (the third) of the translation by R. F. O'Connor (London: Burns & Oates; New York: Benziger, 16mo, pp. xxv-411) appeared in 1901.

147 W. J. Knox Little, M.A.: *St. Francis of Assisi; His Times, Life, and Work*. London: Isbister; New York: Whittaker, 1897. A new and cheaper edition of this volume, which contains the substance of a course of "lectures delivered in the Ladye Chapel of Worcester Cathedral in the Lent of 1896," appeared in 1904, 8vo, pp. xiii-328.

148 The Brownings, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Ruskin, and Symonds, to name no others, all tended to bring Italy into the foreground of English thought during the later Victorian period. See the important article on "Franciscan Literature," in the *Edinburgh Review*, Jan., 1904, pp. 145-168.

149 On these works, see Notes 125 and 115 respectively.

150 *Franciscan Legends in Italian Art*, by Emma Gurney Salter. London: Dent; New York: Dutton, 1905, 16mo, pp. ix-228.

151 N. H. J. Westlake: *On the Authentic Portraiture of St. Francis of Assisi*. London and Oxford: Parker, 1897, 4to, pp. 31.

152 *S. François d'Assise*, Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1885, 4to.

153 *The Story of Assisi (Mediæval Towns Series)*. By Lina Duff Gordon. Illustrated by Nelly Erichsen and M. Helen James. London: Dent, 1900, 16mo, pp. xiv-371.

154 Montgomery Carmichael: *In Tuscany*. London: Murray; New York: Dutton, 1901, pp. xiv-355. See pages 221-244. (New edition, 1906, London: Burns & Oates.) See also P. Saturnino da Caprese, O.F.M.: *Guida Illustrata della Verna*. Prato: tip. Vestri, 1902, 16mo, pp. 409.

155 Laura McCracken: **Gubbio, Past and Present.** London: Nutt, 1905. The history of Brother Wolf is treated at some length in this monograph-guide.

156 J. W. and A. M. Cruickshank: **The Umbrian Towns.** London: Grant Richards, 1901.

157 Edward Hutton: **The Cities of Umbria.** London: Methuen; New York: Dutton, 1906, 16mo, pp. xi-303. Not the least valuable feature of this volume is its illustrations in color. See also Broussolle's *Pélérinages Ombriens* and Taine's *Voyage en Italie* (Perouse and Assise).

158 Beryl D. de Selincourt: **Homes of the First Franciscans, in Umbria, the Borders of Tuscany and the Northern Marches.** With illustrations from photographs. London: Dent; New York: Dutton, 1905, demy 8vo, pp. 325.

159 Anne Macdonell: **Sons of Francis.** London: Dent; New York: Putnam, 1902, 8vo, pp. 436.

160 Leo L. Dubois, S.M.: **Saint Francis of Assisi, Social Reformer.** New York: Benziger, 1906, 16mo, pp. 251.

161 See **Catholic Ideals in Social Life.** By Fr. Cuthbert, O.S.F.C. London: Art & Book Co., 1904, 16mo, p. 249. The portion of this work entitled "St. Francis and You" has been issued separately in pamphlet form (London: Cath. Truth Soc.). See also Fr. Cuthbert's article entitled "St. Francis and Modern Society," in the *Catholic World*, New York, June, 1906, pp. 299-314.

162 See A. Bournet (Protestant): **S. François d'Assise, Étude Sociale et Médicale.** Lyons: Storch, 1893, 8vo, p. 200, and Th. Cotelle (Catholic): **S. François d'Assise, Étude Medicale.** Paris: Poussielgue, 1895.

163 *Franciscan Days*: being selections for every day in the year from ancient Franciscan writings. Translated and arranged by A. J. Ferrers Howell. London: Methuen, 1906, 8vo, pp. 390.

164 Such works as Fr. Golubovich's new history of Franciscan origins in the Orient: *Biblioteca Bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell' Oriente Francescano*, per il P. Girolamo Golubovich, O.F.M., tom. i (1215-1300), Quaracchi, 1906, 8vo, gr. pp. viii-479; and Dr. Felder's recent volume on the evolution of studies within the Order: *Geschichte der Wissenschaftlichen Studien im Franziskanerorden bis um die Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts*, von P. Dr. Hilarin Felder, O.M.Cap., Lektor der Heiligen Theologie. Freiburg and St. Louis, Mo.: Herder, 1904, 8vo, pp. xi-557, are naturally of great interest to all students of Franciscan Sources.

165 *Collection d'Études et de Documents sur l'Histoire Religieuse et Littéraire du Moyen Age*. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 8vo.

166 *Opuscules de Critique Historique*. Valence: Ducros, 8vo.

167 Tom. iii (1901) Frère Élie de Cortone. *Étude biographique* par le Dr. E. Lempp, pp. 220.

168 Tom. v, S. Antonii de Padua, *vitæ duæ*, etc., edidit Léon de Kerval, pp. xiv-314. See also P. Niccolò Dal Gal, O.F.M.: "Sant Antonio di Padova," etc., *Studio dei Documenti*. Quaracchi, 1907, pp. xl-422.

169 Fasc. i (1901), *Regula antiqua Fratrum et Sororum de Poenitentia seu tertii Ordinis S. Francisci*, nunc primum editit Paul Sabatier, pp. 32. English translation in Adderley and Marsons' *Third Orders*. London: Mowbray, 1902.

170 "Nostrum est, ut veritas historica plena in luce resplendeat ea quidem ratione ac methodo qua hodie periti utuntur historici." See *Acta Ordinis Minorum*, anno xxv (May, 1906), fasc. v.

171 *Analecta Bollandiana*. A quarterly review of hagiographical literature published at Brussels by the Bollandists. Most of the articles on Franciscan subjects are from the pen of Fr. Francis Van Ortroy, S.J. See *Indices in tomos i-xx* (1882-1901). Brussels, 1904, 8vo, pp. 148.

172 *Études Franciscaines*. Revue Mensuelle. Publiée par les Frères-Mineurs Capucins. Paris: Lib. Poussielgue.

173 *Bullettino Critico di Cose Francescane*, diretto da Luigi Suttina. Firenze: presso il libraio Francesco Lumachi.

174 *Augusta Perusia*: Rivista di Topografia, Arte e Costume dell' Umbria. Perugia: Union Tip. Cooperativa.

175 Such as the *Franciscan Annals*, *Franciscan Monthly*, *La Verna*, *Luce e Amore*, *Revue Franciscaine*, *Oriente Serafico*, etc.

176 See for example: *Contemporary Review*, May, 1904; *Fortnightly*, March, 1907; *Dublin Review*, April, 1904; *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1904; *Catholic World*, June and Sept., 1906; *Edinburgh Review*, Jan., 1904; *Month*, Jan., 1904; *English Historical Review*, Oct., 1902, etc.

177 See for example: *Franciscan Annals*, Nov., 1906, p. 345; *Franciscan Monthly*, Nov., 1906, p. 349; Feb., 1907, p. 380; also *Saturday Review*, 6 Oct., 1906, etc.

178 A. G. Little: *Initia Operum Latinorum. Quae saeculis xiii, xiv, xv attribuuntur*. Manchester: University Press, 1904, 8vo, pp. xiii-275. This work, which contains about 6,000 *incipits*, facilitates the identification of anonymous mediæval works and is of material help to anyone compiling a catalogue of Franciscan MSS.

179 Leto Alessandri: *Inventario dell' Antica Biblioteca del S. Convento di S. Francesco in Assisi, etc.*, Assisi: tip. Metastasio, 1906, 8vo, pp. xlv-270. This inventory compiled in 1381 by Fra. John Joli was already published in part by P. Fratini in his *Storia della Basilica*, Prato, 1882.

180 Mr. Reginald Balfour has been for some time engaged on a critical edition of Celano's *Life of St. Clare*, written in 1256. He gave a foretaste of this eagerly looked for work at a recent meeting of "Twentieth Century Franciscans," in London. The translation of Celano's *Life of St. Clare* forms not the least valuable part of *The Princess of Poverty*, by Fr. Marianus Fiege, O.M. Cap. Evansville, Ind.: Keller, 1900, 8vo, pp. 314.

181 See "A Few Words about Franciscan Studies," by Montgomery Carmichael in the *Franciscan Monthly*, Aug., 1905, pp. 226-228; also "The Present Position of Franciscan Studies," in the *Franciscan Annals*, Oct. and Nov., 1906.

182 Nino Tamassia: *S. Francesco d'Assisi e la sua Leggenda*, Padua and Verona: Drucker, 1906, 16mo, pp. xi-216.

183 Much information of interest to students of Franciscan literature will be found in *The Life of John William Walshe*, F.S.A., edited, with an Introduction, by Montgomery Carmichael. London: Murray, 1902; New York: Dutton, 8vo, pp. xviii-266. Of the *Walshe MSS.* therein mentioned (pp. vii-xiii) there has appeared thus far only a fragment entitled "Ordo Poenitentiæ Strictioris Observantiæ," in the *Franciscan Monthly*, Sept., 1903. Mr. Carmichael's forthcoming volume on Franciscan Studies is eagerly awaited by those who have found pleasure and profit in his past gleanings of Franciscan fields.











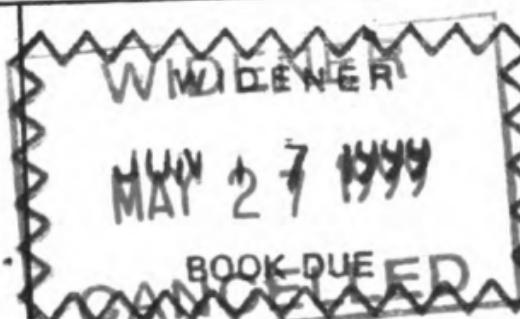


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